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LIMDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; STOCKHOLM FOR USDEL CDE; GENEVA  
FOR USDEL CD

E.O. 12356: DNG: CO: OADR  
TAGS: NATO, NAC  
SUBJECT: MARCH 19 PERMREPS' LUNCH

SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING THEIR REGULAR WEEKLY LUNCHEON  
PERMREPS DISCUSSED:

1. IMPROVING NATO'S CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES:
  - ARMS COOPERATION PAPER AND MARCH 21 REINFORCED DPC;
2. GENEVA TALKS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS - ACTION
  - REQUESTED;
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3. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S SPEECH ON SDI;
4. THE U.S.-CANADIAN SUMMIT IN QUEBEC;
5. MARCH 22 NAC WITH MBFR AD HOC GROUP;
6. SPANISH ENTRY INTO THE EC: LINK WITH NATO;
7. DECLASSIFYING MC 14/3 (FLEXIBLE RESPONSE);
8. DUMAS, KOHL, AND HONECKER IN MOSCOW;
9. SECURITY AT NATO HEADQUARTERS;
10. BRZEZINSKI AND OTHER VISITORS TO NATO.

END SUMMARY.

1. IMPROVING NATO'S CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES:

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 - ARMS COOPERATION PAPER AND MARCH 21 REINFORCED DPC  
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- SYG CARRINGTON OFFERED A PROCEDURAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO INCLUDE THE FRENCH IN THE DISCUSSION OF ARMAMENTS COOPERATION SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE AT THE MARCH 21 REINFORCED DPC. CARRINGTON SUGGESTED THAT PERMREPS START OFF MARCH 21 IN COUNCIL, WITH THE FRENCH PRESENT. THERE WOULD BE A DISCUSSION OF ARMS COOPERATION ISSUES, WITH THE DEFENSE REVIEW COMMITTEE'S (DRC'S) ARMS COOPERATION PAPER PROVIDING THE BACKDROP, BUT NOT BEING THE OBJECT OF DISCUSSION OR CRITICISM (AMBASSADOR ABSHIRE SECONDED THIS POINT). THEN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR WOULD EXIT, AND IN DPC FORMATION THE PERMREPS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSION OF THE SUSTAINABILITY PAPER AND OTHER DPC ISSUES. THE SYG ALSO SUGGESTED THAT GENERAL WILLIAMS, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, BRIEF DPC PERMREPS ON THE CONCEPTUAL MILITARY FRAMEWORK AND THE NATO MILITARY APPRECIATION. EVERYONE AGREED TO CARRINGTON'S SUGGESTED PROCEDURE. (FYI: CARRINGTON HAD WORKED THIS PROCEDURE OUT BEFOREHAND WITH THE FRENCH.)

- IN RESPONSE TO DE HOOP SCHEFFER (NETHERLANDS), WHO ASKED WHAT THEN WOULD BECOME OF THE ARMS COOPERATION PAPER, CARRINGTON SAID THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ARMAMENTS DIRECTORS (CNADS) WOULD DISCUSS IT, AND IT WOULD THEN REVERT TO THE DPC, AS PART OF THE INTENSIVE EFFORT MANDATED BY THE DPC IN DECEMBER.

## 2. GENEVA TALKS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS

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- RESPONDING TO PERMREPS' CURIOSITY ABOUT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, ABSHIRE TOLD HIS COLLEAGUES THAT THE DISCUSSIONS SO FAR IN GENEVA HAD CENTERED ON PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS, AND THAT THE TWO SIDES HAD AGREED TO PRESERVE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE TALKS. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT WAS "INAPPROPRIATE" FOR SOVIET NEGOTIATOR KARPOV TO HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT THE GENEVA TALKS ON MOSCOW TELEVISION. QUESTIONED BY OTHER PERMREPS, ABSHIRE EXPLAINED WHAT KARPOV HAD SAID, AND WHAT THE U.S. RESPONSE HAD BEEN. ON THE TALKS THEMSELVES, HE NOTED THAT THERE WOULD BE TWO PLENARIES THIS WEEK, THAT WORKING GROUPS WOULD HAVE THEIR FIRST MEETING ON MARCH 26, AND THAT THE FIRST ROUND WAS LIKELY TO END IN LATE

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APRIL.

- MISSION COMMENT AND ACTION REQUEST: AT THIS WEEK'S LUNCH, THE AMBASSADOR WAS ABLE TO SATISFY HIS COLLEAGUES' APPETITE FOR SOME WORD ON HOW THE TALKS ARE PROGRESSING IN GENEVA BY SHARING PURELY PROCEDURAL TIDBITS AS REPORTED ABOVE. PERMREPS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR SOME INFORMATION ON THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS. WHILE WE DO NOT WANT TO CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH PERMREPS EXPECT A WEEKLY BRIEFING, WE DO SEE AN ADVANTAGE TO FEEDING NATO PERMREPS A STEADY, IF LIGHT, DIET OF INFORMATION ON THE BROAD OUTLINES OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS. WE WOULD

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 APPRECIATE WASHINGTON AND GENEVA COMMENTS ON HOW BEST TO  
 DEAL WITH THIS MATTER. END COMMENT AND ACTION REQUEST.

3. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S SPEECH ON SDI  
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- ABSHIRE TACKLED THE QUESTION OF SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S  
 SPEECH ON SDI AT THE WEEKEND WITH REFERENCE TO THE  
 LONDON TIMES EDITORIAL CRITICIZING HOWE AND TO THE U.S.  
 SPOKESMAN'S COMMENTS PLAYING DOWN THE EVIDENCE OF A  
 MAJOR DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE US AND THE UK ON SDI.  
 ABSHIRE NOTED THE AREAS OF COMMON VIEW AS IDENTIFIED BY  
 THE U.S. SPOKESMAN (STATE 81840). UK CHARGE (DAUNT)  
 VERY DEFENSIVELY SAID HE APPRECIATED ABSHIRE'S COMMENT  
 ON THE U.S. POSITION, AND ARGUED THAT IT WAS THE TIMES  
 EDITORIAL ATTACKING HOWE'S SPEECH THAT HAD DONE THE  
 DAMAGE, BY DISTORTING WHAT HOWE HAD ACTUALLY SAID. UK  
 CHARGE WENT ON TO ARGUE THAT, JUST AS MANY AMERICANS  
 WERE CONTRIBUTING TO THE SDI DEBATE (E.G., PAUL NITZE,  
 GEN. ABRAHAMSON), SO SIR GEOFFREY WAS MAKING HIS OWN  
 INPUT. THERE HAD BEEN NO INTENTION TO PUT DISTANCE  
 BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, AND THE SPEECH HAD  
 CONTAINED SOME POINTS OF AGREEMENT (LONDON 6195).

- THE UK CHARGE REVEALED THAT SIR GEOFFREY WOULD BE  
 MAKING ANOTHER SPEECH IN PARIS ON THURSDAY, MARCH 21, IN  
 WHICH HE WOULD POINT TO THE NEED FOR THE ALLIANCE TO  
 REACH AGREEMENT ON SDI, AND ALSO CALL FOR A "SOBER AND  
 RESPONSIBLE" DIALOGUE, WITHIN NATO, AND BETWEEN EAST AND  
 WEST, ON SDI.

- IN AN ASIDE TO ABSHIRE, LORD CARRINGTON COMMENTED  
 THAT HE COULDN'T IMAGINE WHY HOWE HAD GIVEN SUCH A  
 SPEECH. WHILE CERTAIN POINTS WERE ACCEPTABLE,  
 CARRINGTON SAID, THE WHOLE TONE HAD BEEN QUESTIONING,  
 AND THE ANALOGY TO "THE MAGINOT LINE" NOT HELPFUL.

4. U.S.-CANADIAN SUMMIT IN QUEBEC  
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- CANADIAN CHARGE (MATHYS) SPOKE OF THE U.S.-CANADIAN  
 SUMMIT IN QUEBEC, AND EMPHASIZED THE REAFFIRMATION OF  
 NORTH AMERICAN SECURITY WITH THAT OF NATO'S EUROPEAN  
 MEMBERS.

- ABSHIRE SECONDED THE CANADIAN CHARGE'S COMMENTS, AND  
 SHARED HIS SATISFACTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
 DECLARATION SIGNED MARCH 18. ABSHIRE QUOTED FROM THE  
 DECLARATION TO STRESS THAT THE U.S. STRATEGIC DEFENSE  
 INITIATIVE RESEARCH EFFORT IS "PRUDENT AND IS IN  
 CONFORMITY WITH THE ABM TREATY" AND OFFERS THE PROSPECT  
 OF AN "ENHANCED ABILITY TO DETER WAR BASED UPON AN  
 INCREASING CONTRIBUTION OF NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSES AGAINST  
 OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS."

5. MARCH 22 COUNCIL WITH MBFR AD HOC GROUP  
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- BERG (NORWAY), NOTING THE SOVIET INITIATIVE IN  
 VIENNA, ARGUED THAT NATO SHOULD NOT TARRY TOO LONG IN  
 RESPONDING. ON MARCH 22, THE NATO MBFR NEGOTIATORS  
 WOULD MEET WITH THE COUNCIL; THEY WOULD BE SEEKING

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ADVICE. WHAT WOULD THE COUNCIL'S ADVICE BE?

- CASSIERS (BELGIUM) CAUTIONED AGAINST RUSHING A  
DECISION ON NEXT STEPS IN MBFR.

- ABSHIRE SECONDED CASSIERS, POINTING OUT THAT THE NEW  
SOVIET LEADERSHIP WAS LIKELY TO LAUNCH A "PEACE  
OFFENSIVE" THAT COULD INTENSIFY PRESSURE ON THE WEST IN  
VARIOUS ARMS CONTROL FORA TO CREATE THE APPEARANCE OF  
MOVEMENT. HE MENTIONED THE GRINEVSKIY APPROACH IN  
STOCKHOLM AS ONE EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND. IT WOULD BE  
WISER, ABSHIRE SAID, TO STICK TO THE SOUND OBJECTIVES  
AND BALANCED CRITERIA WE HAD ALREADY ESTABLISHED. THEN,  
AT A LATER STAGE, ONCE THE INITIAL "PEACE BLITZ" WAS  
OVER, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO REACH SOME WORTHWHILE  
AGREEMENTS.

- THERE WERE NUMEROUS NODS OF AGREEMENT AROUND THE  
TABLE.

6. SPANISH ENTRY INTO THE EC: LINK WITH NATO

- IN A SOMEWHAT RAMBLING INTERVENTION, QJEDA (SPAIN)  
DISCUSSED THE PREOCCUPATION OF HIS AUTHORITIES WITH THE  
QUESTION OF SPANISH ENTRY INTO THE EC. HE SAID THAT THE  
TALKS ON SPANISH ENTRY WERE PROVING MORE DIFFICULT THAN  
EXPECTED, AND THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME  
"INFLEXIBILITY" AMONG THE EC-TEN. THE SPANISH  
AUTHORITIES HAD ALWAYS INSISTED THAT THERE WAS NO FORMAL  
LINKAGE BETWEEN EC AND NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR SPAIN, BUT HE  
COULD NOT PREVENT A DE FACTO LINKAGE FROM EXISTING IN  
THE MINDS OF HIS AUTHORITIES. QJEDA SAID HE DID NOT  
WISH TO USE THE NATO FORUM TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE EC,  
BUT WAS RAISING THE ISSUE BECAUSE OF HIS "GREAT  
CONCERN." HE HAD NOT REALIZED THAT FISHERIES COULD  
BECOME SUCH A DIFFICULT ISSUE.

- MISSION COMMENT: DESPITE HIS DISCLAIMER, IT IS  
EVIDENT THAT QJEDA EXPECTED EC COUNTRY PERMREPS TO  
REPORT HIS REMARKS AND BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON EC  
FOREIGN MINISTERS, WHO WERE STILL WRESTLING WITH THE  
SPANISH ACCESSION PROBLEM IN BRUSSELS. END COMMENT.

7. DECLASSIFYING MC 14/3 (FLEXIBLE RESPONSE)

- UK CHARGE RECALLED THAT SIR GEOFFREY HOWE HAD, AT  
THE DECEMBER 1984 NATO MINISTERIAL, RAISED THE QUESTION  
OF DECLASSIFYING MC 14/3 (FLEXIBLE RESPONSE). THE  
CHARGE NOTED THAT THE MILITARY COMMITTEE (MC) HAD  
REPORTED ON THE SUGGESTION, BUT THAT ITS ARGUMENTS  
(AGAINST DECLASSIFYING) HAD BEEN MORE POLITICAL THAN  
MILITARY. THE UK WOULD, IN VIEW OF THE OPPOSITION TO  
DECLASSIFICATION, WITHDRAW ITS SUGGESTION, BUT WOULD  
SEEK OTHER WAYS OF BETTER ARTICULATING NATO STRATEGY FOR  
WESTERN PUBLICS.

8. DUMAS, KOHL, AND HONECKER IN MOSCOW

- CURIEN (FRANCE) BRIEFED HIS COLLEAGUES ON THE VISIT  
OF FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS TO MOSCOW, BUT DID NOT COVER  
ANY POINTS NOT REPORTED IN THE MOSCOW AND PARIS CABLES  
ON THE VISIT (MOSCOW 3042 AND PARIS 10814).

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- FRG CHARGE (ZU RANTZAU) REPORTED THAT GORBACHEV HAD TOLD KOHL THE AMERICANS HAD THEIR ALLIES "STANDING AT ATTENTION" ON SDI (CF. MOSCOW 3209). HE PROMISED TO CIRCULATE A REPORT ON THE KOHL-GORBACHEV MEETING. FRG CHARGE ALSO NOTED THAT KOHL AND HONECKER HAD MET IN MOSCOW FOR OVER TWO HOURS, BUT THAT HONECKER HAD FAILED TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF HIS VISITING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

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9. SECURITY AT NATO HEADQUARTERS

- OLCAY (TURKEY, DEAN OF PERMREPS) EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE DELAYS AT NATO'S FRONT GATE CAUSED BY SECURITY-RELATED CONSTRUCTION THERE. HE WONDERED IF BELGIUM COULD CONTRIBUTE MORE GENDARMES. CASSIERS SAID HE WOULD CONVEY OLCAY'S CONCERN, BUT KNEW THE BELGIAN POLICE WERE STRAPPED FOR MANPOWER. CARRINGTON COMPLIMENTED THE BELGIAN POLICE ON THEIR PERFORMANCE DURING THE MARCH 17 ANTI-CRUISE-MISSILE DEMONSTRATION IN BRUSSELS AS IT AFFECTED NATO (BRUSSELS 4091). HE ALSO TOLD PERMREPS THAT THE REAR PERIMETER OF NATO HEADQUARTERS WAS NOW BEING PATROLLED.

10. BRZEZINSKI AND OTHER VISITORS TO NATO

- ABSHIRE REPORTED ON THE VISIT OF FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI TO BRUSSELS MARCH 15-16, DURING WHICH BRZEZINSKI HAD HAD DINNER WITH A NUMBER OF BELGIAN AND ALLIED OFFICIALS AND COFFEE WITH SOME TWENTY BRUSSELS-BASED JOURNALISTS. ABSHIRE NOTED THAT BRZEZINSKI HAD BEEN EXTREMELY ARTICULATE IN PROMOTING SDI, WHICH WAS ALL THE MORE IMPRESSIVE BECAUSE HE HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN A SKEPTIC. NOW, ABSHIRE SAID, BRZEZINSKI WAS A LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR SDI AS A POTENTIAL WAY OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF VULNERABILITY TO A FIRST STRIKE, AND THE RESULTING INSTABILITIES.

- ABSHIRE ALERTED THE PERMREPS TO SDI-RELATED VISITS ON THE USNATO CALENDAR: PROMINENT SCIENTIST EDWARD TELLER WOULD BE IN BRUSSELS ON APRIL 12-14, AND ON MAY 2-3, FRED SEITZ, FORMERLY OF ROCKEFELLER UNIVERSITY AND NOW OF THE SDI ADVISORY GROUP, AND DR. JAMES FLETCHER, WOULD VISIT NATO. THE PROSPECT OF THESE VISITS GENERATED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST.

ABSHIRE  
END OF MESSAGE

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